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The Jayabuddhamahānātha Images of Cambodia

Hiram W. Woodward, Jr.

It is proposed that the "Jayabuddhamahānātha" images distributed by King Jayavarman VII of Cambodia in 1191 can be identified as the stone "radiant" Avalokiteśvara images of which more than a dozen are known. In an appendix, Janet G. Douglas identifies the stone of one such image in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery as lithic arkose.

In his lengthy Preah Khan inscription (A.D. 1191), King Jayavarman VII of Cambodia proclaimed that twenty-three images, to which he gave the name Jayabuddhamahānātha, had been sent to various towns in the kingdom. Many of these towns can be identified, and many lay far from the capital at Angkor. In a string of names representing sites in modern Thailand, for instance, are Lavodayapura (modern Lopburi), Svarṇapura, Sambūkapaṭṭana, Srī Jayarājapurī (modern Ratburi), Jayasiṃha (surely the shrine Prâsât Mûang Sing, in Kanchanaburi province), and Srījayavajrapurī (modern Phetburi), followed by two indecipherable compounds.[1] This article proposes that these images can be identified with a group of statues commonly called "radiating" Bodhisattvas.

In his 1941 translation of the inscription, George Cœdès did not attempt to relate the name to any particular image. When he subsequently gave the lectures published as *Pour mieux comprendre Angkor*, however, he did make a connection between the name and a group of portrait images of Jayavarman.[2] One of these, in the National Museum, Phnom Penh, was discovered at Angor Thom (fig. 1). A second, from the temple site of Phimai, stood for many years in the Bangkok National Museum and was recently returned to Phimai.[3] There are, in addition, two heads from such statues.[4] To support the identification, Cœdès pointed out that the image name begins with the prefix Jaya, another name for Jayavarman himself and "a kind of distinguishing seal on all his works." The last part consists of the term *mahānātha*, "'the great saviour,' a term," wrote the scholar, "which could apply to no one better than to Jayavarman VII," for he was the monarch who earlier had driven the invading Cham army out of Angkor.[5] Subsequently Cœdès took up the matter again, and two publications resulted.[6] The name Jayabuddha, he pointed out, is composed the way the names of other statues of apotheosis are; it combines the name of the image, here the Buddha, with the name of the deified personage, in this case Jaya for Jayavarman.[7]

Cœdès himself realized that there were problems in connecting the name with the form. Although the arms of both the Phnom Penh and Phimai statues are broken, originally (as Cœdès suggested) they were surely raised. They may have held a lotus or have been joined together in praise. The statues are therefore adorant images. The Phimai statue was originally housed in a sanctuary built especially for it, and presumably in never-ending devotion it faced the main image of the temple.[8] What is represented is the king rather than the Buddha, thought Cœdès, because the Buddha cannot be praying or making an offering. Therefore the statue depicts a man who has achieved the highest human condition. Nevertheless, there is an inherent contradiction in the identification: the name, following Cœdès's interpretation, calls for an image of the Buddha, but the statues do not depict the Buddha.

Other scholars have been aware of the problems with the identification but have preferred to step lightly over them. In her guide to the Phnom Penh Museum, for instance, Madeleine Giteau dated the portrait image (fig. 1) to the end of the twelfth century or to the beginning of the thirteenth—a dating too broad if the statue is really a Jayabuddhamahānātha of A.D. 1191.[9] And Jean Boisselier has dated the statue to the same period, accepting that it represents Jayavarman VII but declining to comment on whether it really is a Jayabuddhamahānātha.[10] Another difficulty lies

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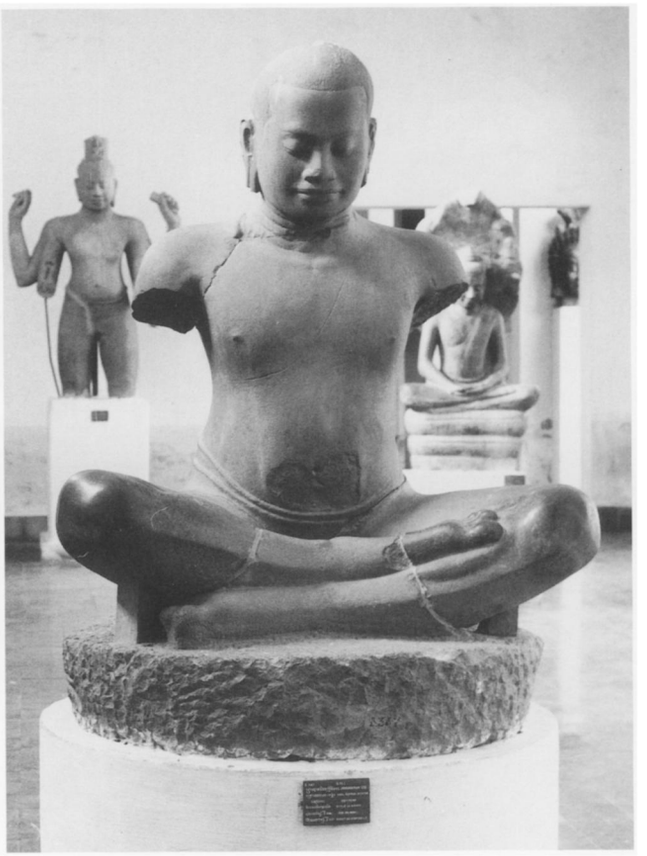

Fig. 1. Statue of Jayavarman VII. National Museum, Phnom Penh, Cambodia. From Krol Romeas, Angkor.

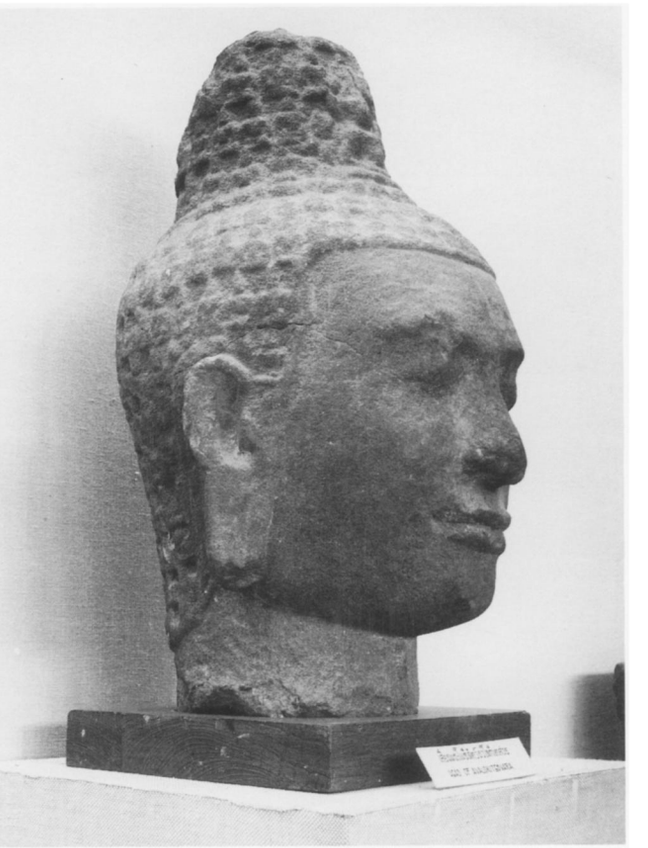

Fig. 2. Head from a Jayabuddhamahānātha. Chao Samphraya National Museum, Ayutthaya, Thailand.

in the numbers. If twenty-three such statues were created, surely more than a mere handful should have survived.

Perhaps if the name Jayabuddhamahānātha were interpreted differently, there could be a better match of name and form. But there may also be another group of statues that the name fits better. This is indeed the case. The images belonging to this group are the "Lokeśvara irradiant" or radiating Avalokiteśvaras (figs. 2 and 3)—a name they first acquired in a study of Louis Finot published in 1925.[11] The number of extant images—more than a dozen—better corresponds with the number stated in the Preah Khan inscription than is the case with the portrait images.[12] So does the distribution of findspots: two have been discovered in the far western part of the empire, in the modern Thai provinces of Ratburi and at Prâsât Mṳang Sing in Kanchanaburi province, places corresponding to Jayarājapurī and Jayasiṃha in the Preah Khan inscription.

The images combine two separate themes. The small Buddhas that cover the chest and hair are actually, it can be supposed, to be found in the pores of the Bodhisattva's skin. This concept is a variation on pictorial imagery in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, in which the pores become universes, trances, and the seats of divine beings.[13] Reliefs at the contemporary temple Banteay Chmar indicate that this text was known in Cambodia.[14] The second theme is suggested by the presence of Prajñāpāramitā on the chest of the images.[15] The female personification of the Perfection of Wisdom (that is, the proper understanding of the nature of reality) appears seated in this fashion on votive tablets of the period. All the Buddhas, say the *Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra* (and many other texts), arise from Prajñāpāramitā, the mother of Buddhahood. The idea is an ancient one, and, in the art and architecture of Jayavarman VII, the triad Prajñā-Buddha-Lokeśvara makes the goddess and the Bodhisattva the mother and father, respectively, of the Buddha. Put another way, wisdom and compassion together produce Buddhahood. In the statues, a Tantric adaptation along the lines of Kuṇḍalinī-yoga is implied: the Bodhisattva can call up the goddess within his own body and through meditative exercises can unite wisdom and compassion, achieving a state equivalent to

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Fig. 3. Image of Avalokiteśvara identified here as Jayabuddhamahānātha. Gray sandstone (lithic arkose). Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C.

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Buddhahood. The worship of the Prajñā-Buddha-Lokeśvara triad had an esoteric aspect during this period, and the radiating Lokeśvara should be understood as another element on this esoteric side, for it suggests practices that were probably restricted.[16] Eventually a text may be identified that spells all this out and provides, in addition, specific names for the figures around the waist of the images.

If the identification is to stand, the name Jayabuddhamahānātha must be given an interpretation different from that of George Cœdès. The primary element in the compound is *mahānātha*, great lord or saviour. This is a variant upon Lokanātha, lord of the world, one of the most common names (or forms) of Avalokiteśvara. That this name was used in Cambodia is suggested by the presence in an inscription at Preah Khan of the deity "Srīcaturlokanātha"—pretty surely Lokeśvara or Avalokiteśvara.[17] But the deity in question is not merely Mahānātha, it is Buddhamahānātha, that is, a "Buddha Great Lord"—the "Buddha" element modifying "Great Lord." Parallel in structure is the name Śākyabuddhalokeśvara, a form of Avalokiteśvara found in Nepal.[18] Two characteristics, presumably, make the image a Buddha Great Lord (as opposed to other types of Great Lord): the multiple Buddhas of the pores of the skin, and the presence of Prajñāparamitā, engenderer of Buddhahood. Finally, the last element in the name, Jaya, should be taken primarily to mean "of victory" and only secondarily to refer to the king. *Jayabuddhamahānātha* may thus be translated as "Buddha-Great-Lord of Victory."

By tying a name, form, and interpretation together in this way, it is possible to clarify aspects of the religious history of the Jayavarman VII period. Philippe Stern, in his study of Bàyon-period art and architecture, pointed out that the phenomenon of Lokeśvara pediments was a particular feature of the middle Bàyon period, roughly around the 1190s.[19] It has also been observed that the worship of the triad Lokeśvara-Buddha-Prajñāparamitā evidently had an an esoteric or Tantric aspect, and it has been suggested that this esoteric side played a significant part in the planning of the Bàyon.[20] From the proposals presented here, it follows that we are dealing with a single phenomenon, rather than two different ones. The implication is that into the Lokeśvara pediments of the period—which show the deity standing, with four arms, and not "radiating"—we should be able to read an esoteric aspect, involving liberation achieved through the practice of the form of meditation suggested by the radiating Lokeśvaras.

In chapels at Preah Khan, the Bàyon, and other temples of the period, the identity of the original images has been preserved by names engraved on the walls. The names do not fully reveal the appearances of the images, however, because many of the names are personal; many of the images, meanwhile, must have been statues of Prajñāparamitā, the Buddha, and Lokeśvara in their standard Khmer forms. These names, therefore, provide little in the way of additional evidence for the appearance of the Jayabuddhamahānātha. In two cases, the images appear to be replicas of those sent to the provinces in 1191 and already in worship there. In a chapel at the Bàyon was erected a "K. J. śrī jayamahānātha nagara śrī jayarājapurī," evidently the Jayabuddhamahānātha of the town whose name is preserved in the modern Ratburi in Thailand.[21] In another case, the same wording is used to indicate the image sent to "nagara śrījayavajrapura," an equivalent of the modern Phetburi.[22] At Banteay Chmar, a closely related name appears, Śrījayamahānātha, accompanied by three other deities—Śrī, Nārāyanī, and Nārāyana. The context suggests that this name refers to the god Śiva.[23]

The names in these inscriptions cannot provide evidence for the physical appearance of the Jayabuddhamahānātha. They may, however, provide clues about adorant images. In some inscriptions a donor's name, followed by the word *sthāpana*, "established," follows one or more image names. Other inscriptions indicate the relationship of the image name to a human by placing the word *rūpa*, "image," between the two names, meaning—ambiguously—that the image is the donor's image. In neither case does it appear likely that the mortal was commemorated also in the form of an adorant image, like the statues of Jayavarman VII (fig. 1). At the Bàyon (but not at other temples), however, there is a third formula, and it is possible that it is an indication of the additional presence of an adorant image. In these inscriptions, the word *nā*, "the place (of)," precedes the human name, and the image names follow.[24] With this wording, it is easier to conceive of the presence of an adorant statue, its identity provided in the inscription on the wall. The chapel has become "the place" of the person named. Perhaps some of these adorant images were wooden and have not, therefore, survived. Something of the importance of adorant images in the Bàyon period is demonstrated by a statue from Preah Khan at Kompong Svay, in which the adorant holds aloft a standard triad and seems himself to have become deified, as shown by the presence of an *uṣṇīṣa* (fig. 4). If the hypothesis is correct, the portrait images of Jayavarman VII can be considered *nā* images.

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Fig. 4. Adorant image and triad. National Museum, Phnom Penh (B. 379). From Preah Khan of Kompong Svay, Kompong Thom.

As for the Jayabuddhamahānātha, additional study would no doubt be fruitful. Although there are stylistic differences among the statues, there are good reasons to believe that they were executed at about the same time—in a period in which it was also popular to place statues of Lokeśvara on pediments. Only after technical analyses of the stone have been carried out on a sufficient number will it be possible to speculate how many may have been carved in a single place (see the appendix), and whether stylistic characteristics distinguish the orginal twenty-three images from later replicas.

The Walters Art Gallery
Baltimore, Maryland

Notes

1. G. Cœdès, "La Stèle du Prah Khan d'Aṇkor," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient,* 41 (1941), 255–301, esp. 296.

2. G. Cœdès, *Pour mieux comprendre Angkor* (Hanoi, 1943; rev., Paris, 1947), trans. as *Angkor: An Introduction* (Hong Kong, 1963), 99–100.

3. Published, G. Cœdès, *Les collections archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok,* Ars Asiatica, 12 (Paris, 1928), pls. XVIII–XIX.

4. Philippe Stern, *Les monuments khmers du style du Bàyon et Jayavarman VII,* Publications du Musée Guimet, Recherches et Documents d'Art et d'Archéologie, 9 (Paris, 1965), figs. 198-200.

5. Cœdès, *Angkor,* 99.

6. G. Cœdès, "Les statues du roi khmer Jayavarman VII," *Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* July–Oct. 1958, 219–26; Cœdès, "Le portrait dans l'art khmer," *Arts Asiatiques,* 7 (1960), 179–198.

7. "Les statues," quoted in Stern, *Les monuments,* 193–94.

8. For an early description, James McCarthy, *Surveying and Exploring in Siam* (London, 1900), 30–31.

9. Madeleine Giteau, *Guide du Musée National, I—Sculpture* (Phnom Penh, 1960), 42.

10. Jean Boisselier, *Trends in Khmer Art* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1989), 83–84.

11. Louis Finot, "Lokeçvara en Indochine," *Etudes Asiatiques,* 2 vols. (Hanoi, 1925), I, 227–56.

12. The images are as follows:

1) Musée Guimet, Paris (MG 18139). From Prasat Preah Thkol: *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine,* 1910, 30, pl. IV. Jean Boisselier, *Le Cambodge,* Manuel d'archéologie d'Extrême-Orient, pt. 1, vol. 1 (Paris, 1966), pl. LII, 2.

2) Ta Prohm, Bati. Etienne Aymonier, *Le Cambodge,* 3 vols. (Paris, 1900-1904), I, 178, fig. 32. Nandana Chutiwongs, *The Iconography of Avalokiteśvara in Mainland Southeast Asia,* Proefschrift, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden (Leiden, 1984), fig. 152.

3) National Museum, Phnom Penh (B.11.11). From Preah Khan, Angkor. Giteau, *Guide,* 44.

4–7) It has not been possible to determine which of these may be duplicates.

4) National Museum, Phnom Penh (B816; H. 87 cm).

5) Don Tei. E. Lunet de Lajonquiere, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge,* 3 vols., Publications de l'Ecole Française d' Extrême- Orient, 4, 8, 9 (Paris, 1902-1911), III, 296.

6, 7) Finot ("Lokeçvara en Indochine," 243) mentions two additional examples at Angkor Thom.

8) Hanoi? From Tra-kieu. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient,* 14 (1914), 91, fig. 1. Henri Marchal, *Musée Louis Finot: La collection khmer* (Hanoi, 1939), 66-67.

9, 10) Two statues at Wat Tham Yai Khuhâ Sawan, Lopburi (1971), formerly (1928–40) at the Bangkok National Museum. Huan Phinthuphan, *Lopburî thî nâ rû* (Lopburi, 1969), 106–108.

11) Ratburi National Museum (formerly National Museum, Bangkok). Discovered at Kosinarai Pond, Ban Pong district, Ratburi province. Suphattharadit Ditsakun (Prof. M. C.

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Subhadradis Diskul), *Sinlapa samai Lopburî*(Bangkok, 1967), fig. 55. Trî Amâtayakun, "Mûang Sambūkapaṭṭana" *Sinlapâkộn*, 17: 2 (July 1973), ill. opp. p. 66. Jarunee Inshurdchai, "A Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara Image with Rays of Light in the National Museum of Changwat Ratchaburi," *Sinlapâkộn*, 34:3 (1991), 23-28 (Thai), 29-36 (English).

12) National Museum, Bangkok. Discovered at Prâsât Mûang Sing, Kanchanaburi province. Piriya Krairiksh, *Das heilige Bildnis/The Sacred Image* (Cologne, 1979), no. 32.

13) Collection Phra Khru Khanânamasamanâčhan (Pao), Bangkok. Sanộng Watthanawarângkun/Snong Wattanavrangkul *Phra phuttharûp. . ./ Outstanding Sculptures of Bhuddhist* [sic] *and Hindu Gods from Private Collections in Thailand* (Bangkok, 1975), pl. 82.

14) Sold Christie's, Amsterdam, June 1, 1988, lot 109.

15) According to Jarunee, "Bodhisattva," 32, an image was found at Prâsât Kamphaeng Laeng in Phetburi.

16) Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D. C. (S. 987.910). H. 99.7 cm (39 1/4"). Fig. 3.

Head and shoulders

17) Villa I Tatti, Florence. Laurance P. Roberts, *The Bernard Berenson Collection of Oriental Art at Villa I Tatti* (New York, 1991), 93, no. 34.

Heads

18) Chao Samphraya National Museum, Ayutthaya. Fig. 2.

19) Formerly William H. Wolff, New York. Southeast Asia Art Foundation photograph 01/989/82.

Bronze

1) Royal Palace, Phnom Penh. G. Cœdès, *Bronzes khmers*, Ars Asiatica, 5 (Paris and Brussels, 1923), pl. XXXII.

2) Walters Art Gallery Baltimore, 54.2726, bequest of A. B. Griswold. Cœdès, *Bronzes khmers*, pl. XXXIII. (This image will be discussed in a forthcoming catalogue.)

3) Musée Guimet, Paris. A[lbert] L[e] B[onheur], "Asie du Sud-Est," *Arts Asiatiques*, 47 (1992), 111–13.

13. Marie-Thérèse de Mallman, *Introduction à l'Étude d'Avalokiteçvara*, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études, 57 (Paris, 1967), 43, 45.

14. Jean Boisselier, "Précisions sur quelques images khmères d'Avalokiteśvara: les bas-reliefs de Bañtay Chmar," *Arts Asiatiques*, 11 (1964), 73–89.

15. Nandana, *Iconography of Avalokiteśvara*, 346.

16. Hiram W. Woodward, Jr., "Tantric Buddhism at Angkor Thom," *Ars Orientalis*, 12 (1981), 57-67.

17. G. Cœdès, "Etudes Cambodgiennes XXXIX: L'Epigraphie des monuments de Jayavarman VII," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 44 (1947-50), 112 (K. 462).

18. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (1958, rpt. Calcutta, 1968), 397.

19. Stern, *Les monuments khmers du style du Bàyon*, 130.

20. Woodward, "Tantric Buddhism."

21. G. Cœdès, "Etudes Cambodgiennes XIX: La date du Bàyon," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 28 (1928), 105 (K.293.3).

22. Ibid., 106 (K. 293.6).

23. Cœdès, "L'Epigraphie des monuments de Jayavarman VII," 119 (K. 226).

24. Cœdès, "La date du Bàyon," e. g., 107 (K.293.9). I am grateful to Prof. Philip N. Jenner for his helpful letters concerning the word *nā*.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs 1,2,4, Hiram W. Woodward, Jr.; fig 3, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery.

Appendix: Geological Examination of the Avalokiteśvara S1987.910, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

Janet G. Douglas

Technique

Several small chips were chiseled from the sculpture along a broken area on the inner right leg. These chips were imbedded in Hytal NYL-1 Epoxy Resin, and two thin sections were prepared at the Museum of Natural History, Department of Mineral Sciences. Detailed examination of one thin section was done using the Zeiss Orthoplan polarizing microscope and standard petrographic techniques. The results of the analysis follow.

Textual Properties

Sorting. Poor. Particles are a range of grain sizes; large proportion of fine-grained matrix present.

Textual maturity. Immature (sediment contains over 5 percent terrigenous clay). The sediment of this rock probably accumulated in an environment where current action was weak and/or deposition was rapid. Parent rock source is most probably close to deposition site.

Mineral grain fraction: 75%.
Matrix fraction: 25%.

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Mineral Grain Composition

Quartz (approximately 20% of mineral grains by volume). Quartz grains are large (up to 0.6 mm), fractured, and have high degree of angularity. Small inclusions (vacuoles and microliths) are common, and are mostly translucent to opaque. Quartz particles typically display straight to slightly undulose extinction in crossed nicols, suggesting that they originated from an igneous and/or metamorphic source rock.

Feldspar (approximately 60% of mineral grains by volume). Some orthoclase is twinned; most is weathered with many minute inclusions of kaolinite and/or vacuoles. Microline shows fine-scale albite-pericline (scotch plaid) type twinning, and is typically altered with many minute inclusions. Feldspar grains range from 0.1 to 1.5 mm in diameter. Approximate relative abundance of feldspars is as follows: orthoclase 40%, microline 20%, and plagioclase 40%.

Rock fragments (approximately 20% of mineral grains by volume). Schistose metamorphic rock fragments are comprised of composite grains of quartz and biotite. Recrystallized quartz consisting of interlocking equant quartz grains are probably from a metamorphic rock source. Euhedral amphibole fragments show strong pleochroism ranging from light olive green to brownish green. Amphibole cross sections are diamond-shaped and show typical cleavage of approximately 60 and 120 degrees. These fragments are probably the mineral hornblende. Mica grains are pleochroic light to dark brown, and are probably biotite from an igneous and/or metamorphic rock source. A few rutile grains were also seen. Several rock fragments are present that appear to have almost completely altered to chlorite.

Matrix Composition

Approximately 25% of the sandstone is composed of a fine-grained matrix material. The fine-grained nature of this material precludes positive identification using the optical microscope. However, two general types were seen: 1) green, low birefringence colors, probably chlorite; 2) brown, birefringence colors of white to yellowish, probably iron-stained sericite and/or illite. Yellowish orange and brown color suggests an iron oxide content in the clay. A few small red hematite grains were seen. The presence of partially and completely altered grains suggests that some weathering and possibly retrograde metamorphism has occurred in this rock material. For this reason, it may be difficult to distinguish the fine-grained matrix from alteration clay and micas.

Classification of Rock Type

Folk (1974): lithic arkose.[1]
Okada (1971): feldspathic wacke or arkosic wacke.[2]

Many classifications schemes exist for sedimentary rocks. The rock names given above are based on the classification schemes of Folk (1974) and Okada (1971), both of which are based primarily on petrographic analysis of the textual features of the rock, grain size, and the relative percentages of three constituents: quartz, feldspar, and rock fragments. In both classification schemes, each of these constituents comprises poles of a classification triangle used to determine the rock name.

Folk is the classification scheme used by Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Department of Conservation and Scientific Research. The rock name according to Okada is also given. This classification scheme was used by Richard Newman, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in his analysis of Khmer and Thai sculptures at the Walters Art Gallery, to appear in a forthcoming catalogue of the Griswold collection.

Department of Conservation and Scientific Research
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C.

Notes

1. Robert L. Folk, *Petrology of Sedimentary Rocks* (Austin, Texas, 1974).

2. Hakuyu Okada. "Classification of sandstone: analysis and proposal," *Journal of Geology*, 79 (1971), 509-525.

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